

**one
year
later**



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EDITORS: PLEASE HOLD FOR RELEASE AT
10:AM. (EST) THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1969

WASHINGTON, Feb. 27 -- A major first-anniversary appraisal of America's reaction to the domestic crisis portrayed by the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders finds that the nation has taken some steps toward eliminating racial discrimination and poverty in the center city but concludes that "progress in dealing with the conditions of slum-ghetto life has been nowhere in scale with the problems."

Nor, states the study, "has the past year seen even a serious start toward the changes in national priorities, programs and institutions advocated by the Commission."

It states that:

. "Poverty remains a pervasive fact of life...and the continuing disparity between this poverty and the general affluence remains a source of alienation and discontent."

. "Ghetto schools continue to fail. The small amount of progress that has been made has been counterbalanced by a growing atmosphere of hostility and conflict in many cities."

. "At present, there are no programs that seriously threaten the continued existence of the slums."

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Using the Commission's benchmark report of March 1, 1968 as a reference point, the study finds the concern of some whites counter-balanced and even overbalanced by resistance by other elements of the white population. Among black Americans, the study finds the mood neither totally militant nor totally submissive but "not moving in the direction of patience."

And as the Kerner report warned, it concludes: "For a year later, we are a year closer to being two societies, black and white, increasingly separate and scarcely less equal."

These are the basic elements of "One Year Later," a wide-ranging evaluation of what has been done--and not done--to implement the Commission's recommendations for changing the character of our cities and the lives of their inhabitants.

The report was prepared by the staffs of Urban America, Inc., headed by former Gov. Terry Sanford, of North Carolina, and The Urban Coalition, headed by former HEW Secretary John W. Gardner. Both are non-profit organizations based in Washington, formed in recent years to attack the problems of the cities.

Working with the two agencies was a seven-member advisory panel that included two members of the Kerner Commission, Mayor John Lindsay, of New York City, and Sen. Fred R. Harris (D-Okla.), and the Commission's executive director, David Ginsburg, a Washington attorney.

Also on the panel were Jack Conway, president of the Center for Community Change, Washington, and former executive director of the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO; Daniel Parker, Chairman of the Board of the Parker Pen Company and immediate past chairman of the National Association of Manufacturers; the Rev. Channing E. Phillips, Democratic National Committeeman and

head of the Housing Development Corporation, of Washington, D.C., and Tom Wicker, associate editor of the New York Times.

"One Year Later" is in two parts, the first dealing with public and private efforts to reduce the problems of poverty, education and environment. The second covers civil disturbances, crime, relations between black citizens and public authority, the attitudes of blacks and whites toward each other and the spread of ghetto patterns from the cities to the suburbs.

Making use of materials developed since the Kerner report, the assessment calls the nation's failure to commit itself to needed urban change the same as choosing what the Commission called "the course with the most ominous consequences for our society"-- present policies.

To document this conclusion, the study reviews the one-year results of anti-poverty efforts:

- . General prosperity alone has proven inadequate to upgrade the hard-core poor and unemployed; specific programs are necessary to meet their special needs.

- . The largest gap in employment programs "is lack of a public job-creation program to complement increased public-private job-training efforts."

- . Job discrimination remains a serious problem, reinforcing the concentration of minorities in low-pay, low-status occupations.

- . Only limited progress has been made in opening business opportunities to minorities.

- . No progress has been made in reform of the welfare system. Meanwhile, the number of those dependent on welfare has been accelerating even faster than the Commission estimated.

- . Development and public acceptance of an income supplement system is still not in sight.

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The new study cites census findings that show urban Negro family income has risen sharply in the last nine years but still is only two thirds of the median white family income. Education did not appear to reduce the disparity, either: "Black college graduates earned \$13 more per year at the median than white high school graduates."

The black jobless rate at the end of last year was the lowest in 15 years but "even the 1968 figures...showed whites in the large metropolitan areas to be in the midst of historic prosperity and blacks in recession," the study asserts. Unemployment among black youths in the cities in 1967 was "worse than even the Commission had estimated" and still is 27.3 per cent.

The study points to the National Alliance of Businessmen's JOBS program to illustrate efforts to improve training and provide jobs.

Its assessment of the welfare picture is particularly grim. It finds fiscal 1968's total welfare costs nearly two billion dollars higher than the preceding year--but that federally-aided programs "nowhere" raised recipients above poverty levels.

Turning to education, the study finds that:

. The major issue has become decentralization or community control of schools, though it is too early to evaluate what impact this issue has had on the quality of slum-ghetto education. The study states that black Americans appear to want "accountability" more than control as such.

. Despite rejection of the goal of integration by some blacks and continued resistance by many whites, it has been pursued with some success in small- and moderate-size cities (most notably Berkeley, California), but without success in the big cities.

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Federal enforcement of desegregation laws (particularly the 1964 Civil Rights Act) and judicial rulings has been of limited effectiveness in the South, and is only beginning in the North.

. Lack of funds and lack of the means to gauge their effectiveness has hampered efforts to improve schooling through special programs.

Analyzing the physical environment of the cities, the study says the 1968 Housing Act substantially expanded programs for meeting shortages in low- and moderate-income housing and established the goal of a ten-fold increase in unit production. But appropriations cutbacks postponed attainment of the full goal.

In addition, the study finds that:

. Passage of a federal fair housing law represented the first essential step toward opening new housing choices for slum-ghetto residents. Again, insufficient funding of enforcement machinery blunted the impact.

. Site limitations for subsidized housing reinforced segregation and also impeded construction of more low- and moderate-income dwellings.

. Housing rehabilitation has not fulfilled its promise. Model cities programs--reshaping the total environment of designated areas--appear promising but depend on funding.

The second section of the study addresses itself to the climate of American life, stressing attitudes of blacks and whites toward each other and the relation between shifts in those perceptions and events of the past year.

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The study says that:

. Civil disorders increased in number but declined in intensity in 1968. A more sophisticated approach by law enforcement authorities accounted primarily for the smaller number of deaths.

. Disorder struck the nation's high schools and, at the same time, turmoil on college campuses assumed an increasingly racial character.

. An alarming increase in crimes of violence added to fears both inside and outside the ghettos. "There was little evidence of change or reform in the criminal justice system sufficient to stem this increase."

. "There was some evidence of a hardening of police attitudes and a weakening of traditional civil controls over their activities."

. Structural change in local government needed to make it more responsive was rare. The number of black elected officials did increase substantially, but did not approach the proportion of blacks in the total population.

. Blacks ready to pursue separatism or violence as a tactic remain a small minority of the Negro population.

. Black pride is increasing; its translation into action in the arenas of community control and self-help contributed to the comparative quiet of last summer.

. White concern with the problems of the cities mounted in early 1968 because of the Kerner report, the assassination of Martin Luther King and the subsequent disorders. But it "was subsumed by concern for law and order in the months following the assassination of Sen. Robert F. Kennedy and continued to decline during the Presidential campaign. Outright resistance to slum-ghetto needs and demands intensified during the same months."

. "Black and white Americans remained far apart in their perception of slum-ghetto problems and the meaning of civil disorders. The gap probably had widened by the end of the year."

. The physical distance between the places where blacks and whites live did not diminish during the past year and threatens to increase with population growth. The most recent trend showed both blacks and whites shunning the central cities, whose ghettos were growing in area while declining in population. There was an increase in suburban ghettos. (Median Negro family income, for example, differed in 1967 by only \$234 between the city and the suburb.)

The study concludes that events of the past year paralleled the short-run consequences predicted by the Commission if the nation chose to continue its present policies. The study asserts that there has been "some change, but not enough; more incidents but less full-scale disorder because of improved police and military response; a decline in expectations and therefore in short-run frustrations.

"If the Commission is equally correct about the long run, the nation in its neglect may be sowing the seeds of unprecedented future disorder and division."

Administrative director for the "One Year Later" study project was Brian Duff, vice president for communications of the Urban Coalition. Principal author was Donald Canty, director of Urban America's Information Center and editor of its magazine, "City." Special assistance was also extended by the Public Service Council of the Public Relations Society of America.

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THE SPONSORING ORGANIZATIONS:

URBAN AMERICA, INC., is a Washington-based, non-profit membership organization concerned with improving the quality of life in the nation's cities through sound, comprehensive planning, matched by positive citizen action. It was formed in 1965 by a merger of the American Planning and Civic Association and the ACTION Council for Better Cities. It operates through 5 centers: The Urban Policy Center, the Urban Design Center, the Non-Profit Housing Center, the States Urban Action Center and the Urban Information Center, which publishes CITY and Chronicle and maintains a reference service for the press and local citizen's organizations.

THE URBAN COALITION, formed in 1967, is an organization which attempts to encourage collaborative action on urban problems by bringing together leaders from all elements of the community--business, labor, local government, minority groups, as well as the traditional organizations of concerned citizens. The national Urban Coalition and Urban Coalitions in 42 cities work through the mechanisms of steering committees and task forces in an effort to link grassroots leadership in an attack on the whole range of urban ills.